

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 01946 01 OF 02 051629Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----051703Z 069345 /41

R 051342Z APR 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2658

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1946

STADIS////////////////////  
EXDIS  
EYES ONLY FOR ACTING ASST SEC LOWENSTEIN FROM AMB STRAUZS-HUPE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SOPN NATO  
SUBJ: "SILVER BOWL" ADDRESS

REF: STATE 072294

1. THE DRAFT OF MY SILVER BOWL SPEECH IS A PERSONAL STATEMENT  
ADDRESSED TO OUR ALLIES. IT IS, OF COURSE, NOT DIRECTED IN  
ANY WAY AT THIS ADMINISTRATION. ITS SUBSTANTIVE CONTENT  
IS TAKEN FROM A PAPER THAT, LONG BEFORE NOVEMBER 1976, I  
SUBMITTED TO THE THEN SECRETARY OF STATE. INCIDENTALLY,  
ALL SENIOR MEMBERS OF THIS MISSION SCRUTINIZED THE DRAFT.  
NONE DISCERNED ANY MAJOR DIVERGENCE FROM ADMINISTRATION POLICY,  
NOT TO SPEAK OF DISRESPECT FOR PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATED  
VIEWS. IF, IN THIS, THEY ERRED, THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR  
THE DRAFT, AS AMENDED, IS NOT THEIRS. IT IS MINE AND MINE  
ALONE.

2. MY THESIS (PAGES 5 AND 6), AS YOU CALL IT, IS DERIVED  
FROM MY ASSESSMENT OF HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS THAT HAVE  
OCCURRED DURING THE LAST HALF CENTURY. CLEARLY, IT IS  
NOT CONCERNED WITH RECENT EVENTS. I HOLD UNRESERVEDLY  
WITH THE STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT  
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QUOTED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF YOUR MESSAGE. I HAVE INCORPORATED  
THEM IN MY PROPOSED ADDRESS, FOR THEY REFLECT THE  
ADMINISTRATION'S DETERMINATION TO REASSERT THE VALUES  
OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION, NAMELY THE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM,  
HUMANENESS, AND DEMOCRACY. THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT THE  
WESTERN PEOPLES NEED TO HEAR. IF THERE WOULD BE NO NEED  
FOR THEM TO HEAR IT, THE ADMINISTRATION, SO I ASSUME,  
WOULD NOT HAVE FELT THAT THE POINT IS WORTH MAKING.  
INDEED, "THE PASSION FOR FREEDOM IS ON THE RISE." THE  
PRESIDENT'S EMPHASIS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IS ADDRESSED TO

THIS PHENOMENON. HUMAN RIGHTS ARE NOW BEING VIOLATED IN MANY PLACES ON THIS GLOBE AND NOWHERE MORE BLATANTLY THAN IN THAT PART OF THE GLOBE THAT IS UNDER COMMUNIST RULE. THAT, DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS, THE DOMAINE UNDER NON-DEMOCRATIC RULE HAS EXPANDED AND THAT THE GEOPOLITICAL PRESENCE OF THE WEST HAS SHRUNK, THESE ARE FACTS BORN OUT BY A GLANCE ON THE MAP OF THE GLOBE AND ARE NOT FIGMENTS OF SPENGLERIAN IMAGINATION.

3. I NOTE, IN YOUR PARAGRAPH 3, YOUR REFERENCE TO THE PRESIDENT'S UN SPEECH. I, TOO, SEE A HOPEFUL WORLD. BUT, I BELIEVE THAT THE PRESIDENT WILL AGREE WITH ME WHEN I ASSERT THAT IN LARGE PARTS OF THE WORLD "THE DEMANDS FOR BASIC FREEDOMS, FOR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, FOR HIGHER STANDARDS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE" (ALL THESE BEING WESTERN IDEALS) ARE NOT BEING MET. IN BRIEF, THE TRENDS OF THE LAST 50 YEARS NEED TO BE REVERSED AND THE "CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM "NEED TO BE REAFFIRMED." IF I AM NOT TOTALLY MISTAKEN, THE PRESIDENT PROPOSES TO DO EXACTLY THAT.

4. YOUR PARAGRAPH 4 CONTAINS A WELCOME REMINDER OF THE DANGER OF COMPRESSION. IN AND OUT OF OFFICE, I HAVE DWELT ON THE EVILS OF COLONIALISM. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT I HAVE BEEN UNCRITICAL OF THE PITFALLS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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DECOLONIZATION. IN MANY PLACES, DECOLONIZATION HAS CREATED A POLITICAL VOID THAT OUR ADVERSARIES SUCCEEDED IN FILLING TO THE WEST'S DETRIMENT. IF THIS HAD NOT BEEN SO WE WOULD NOT BE AS CONCERNED AS WE ARE ABOUT THE PLACES THAT I CITE ON MY PAGE 5. IF THE ADMINISTRATION WERE TO SUCCEED IN TRULY "DEMILITARIZING" THE INDIAN OCEAN, I WOULD BE THE FIRST TO CHEER THIS ACHIEVEMENT. IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY POSSIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING, I SCRATCHED THE PASSAGE AT WHICH YOU CAVIL.

5. IN YOUR PARAGRAPH 5, YOU REFER TO STATEMENTS OF ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN ON THE SOURCES OF SOVIET CONDUCT, CONTROVERTING MY VIEWS AS REGARDS SOVIET CONDUCT. I AM NOT AWARE THAT THERE IS ANY CONFLICT. I REFER YOU TO THE STATEMENT OF HENRY OWEN AND CHARLES L. SCHULTZE IN THE MARCH/APRIL ISSUE OF SURVIVAL. YOUR SOVIET EXPERTS AGREE THAT "LENIN'S ANALYSIS SUPPORTS SOVIET TROUBLEMAKING... ETC." THIE IS EXACTLY WHAT I AM SAYING. I AM NOT SAYING THAT "NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE NOT INDIGENEOUS OR JUSTIFIED IN AND OF THEMSELVES." OF COURSE, THEY ARE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1946

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6. ON YOUR PARAGRAPH 6, I REFRAIN FROM COMMENTING.

7. I DO NOT THEORIZE ON PROXY WARS; I DESCRIBE A CONDITION.  
HERE, I DO NOT PROPOSE TO REFIGHT THE VIETNAM WAR CONTROVERSY.  
THE SOVIETS GAVE MASSIVE SUPPORT, MATERIAL AND POLITICAL,  
TO HANOI. THEY DID NOT "INSPIRE" THE CONFLICT IN INDO-  
CHINA. THEY FUELED IT TO OUR DETRIMENT. I AM CONVINCED THAT  
PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD NOT FIND FAULT WITH THIS, MY ASSESSMENT.

8. I RESERVE COMMENT ON YOUR PARAGRAPH 8, FOR IT DOES NOT  
SEEM ADDRESSED TO MY ARGUMENT ON THE SINO-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP.

9. I PRESUME THAT YOUR PARAGRAPH 9 LEAVES ROOM FOR  
DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN SOVIET EXPERTS. I WILL BE HAPPY  
TO TAKE MY PLACE WITHIN THE CONFINES OF SCHOLARLY DISCOURSE.

10. I TAKE NOTE OF YOUR COMMENT AT MY PAGE 9 AND, AGAIN IN ORDER  
TO ELIMINATE EVEN A SHADOW OF DOUBT, I HAVE SCRATCHED THE  
PASSAGE. AS I HAVE MADE CLEAR ABOVE, WHEN I WROTE IT I  
COULD NOT POSSIBLY HAVE HAD THIS ADMINISTRATION IN MIND.

11. THE COMMENT OF YOUR SOVIET EXPERTS, CITED IN YOUR  
PARAGRAPH 11, DOES NOT AGREE WITH MY READING--AND THE  
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READING OF A SCORE OF REPUTABLE HISTORIANS--OF RUSSIAN  
HISTORY. IF ANY ONE CAN MISTAKE PETER THE GREAT'S  
"WESTERNIZATION" FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN  
SOCIAL AND POLITICAL VALUES, THEN HE NEEDS TO RE-READ  
THE HISTORY OF PETRINE RUSSIA. INCIDENTALLY, THE  
"REFORMS" OF 1861 AND 1864 WERE FOLLOWED BY 50 YEARS OF  
SAVAGE, THOUGH INEFFICIENT, REPRESSION. THE REFERENCE  
TO NAZI GERMANY IS A NON-SEQUITUR. NAZI GERMANY WAS A  
BLOT ON WESTERN CILILIZATION. THE WEST HAD THE WILL AND  
MOUNTED THE NECESSARY EFFORT TO ERASE THIS BLOT. IN BRIEF,  
THE WEST PREVAILED.

12. THE COMMENT IN YOUR PARAGRAPH 12 DOES NOT REFLECT MY TEXTUAL STATEMENT. ON PAGE 11, I DO NOT GIVE IT AS MY OPINION THAT "DETENTE IS A BATTLE WON ON THE LONG ROAD TO COMMUNIST VICTORY." I SAY THAT THIS IS WHAT SOVIET PROPAGANDIST'S TELL THEIR PEOPLE. THEY DO SAY SO. I REFER YOU TO THE FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE, MOST ANY WEEK.

13. I TAKE NOTE OF THE COMMENT IN YOUR PARAGRAPH 13. AGAIN, MY STATEMENT IS ADDRESSED TO THE PAST LEADERSHIP OF ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES AND CERTAINLY NOT TO THIS ADMINISTRATION WHICH, AS I HAVE MADE CLEAR ABOVE, IS STRIVING TO INSPIRE OUR PEOPLES TO DO GREAT THINGS TOGETHER. I HAVE ALTERED THE TEXT SO AS TO SCOTCH THE "IMPLICATION" TO WHICH YOU ADVERT.

14. NOTWITHSTANDING YOUR INFERENCES, STATED IN YOUR PARAGRAPH 14, I AM THE LAST TO BELITTLE "DIPLOMATIC DEXTERITY." I HAVE LIVED BY IT. WHAT I MEANT SO SAY-- AND I MAY SAID IT BADLY--IS THAT DIPLOMATIC DEXTERITY ALONE IS NOT ABLE TO ACHIEVE THE SECURITY OF THE WEST, NOT TO SPEAK OF TAPPING "THIS NEW SPIRIT" EVOKED BY THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS. INDEED, "WE CAN ONLY IMPROVE THIS WORLD IF WE ARE REALISTIC ABOUT ITS COMPLEXITIES." I HAVE CONFIDENTIAL

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TIDIED UP THIS PASSAGE SO THAT WHAT I MEAN TO SAY BECOMES CRYSTAL CLEAR.

15. I NOTE YOUR PARAGRAPH 15. THE WEST-QUA-WEST HAS NOT YET FOUND ITS WAY TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY. NEITHER HAS ALL OF MANKIND.

16. I REGRET THAT A NEW WISE MEN'S STUDY HAS BEEN DECIDED AGAINST. I MUST BOW TO THIS DECISION.

17. I HEREWITH INVITE YOUR REVIEW OF THE FULL TEXT THAT FOLLOWS SEPTEL. THE FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY HAD FAITH IN THE MEETING OF MINDS. HE ALSO KNEW HIS OWN.

18. WARMEST THANKS FOR STIMULATING ARGUMENT AND WARM REGARDS. STRAUSZ-HUPE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

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